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ABSTRACT

To expose a fundamental conflict in journalism between newsworthiness and objectivity (or novelty and authority) this monograph first examines the parallel between news environment and physical environment. Objectivity is defined here not as a description of the environment, but as symbols in the minds of significant publics, or "pseudoenvironments." By examining how journalists strive to match their reports to existing pseudoenvironments, the monograph builds a case against dominant systems-oriented, novelty-excluding, authority-enhancing approaches. The theories of Yi-Fu Tuan are discussed in relationship to journalism, including his efforts to introduce novel, or alien, considerations into the authority-centered coherence of the dominating pseduoenvironments of analytical thought. According to Tuan, much experiential data are lost because the data cannot fit into concepts derived uncritically from the physical sciences. It is suggested that journalistic decisions should be informed by the larger human values at stake in them. The relationship between the enclosure of pseudoenvironments and the purpose of the news to disclose is also discussed. The fact that news values, like other pseudoenvironments, tend to dictate perception by anticipating it is explored. Finally, the document calls for a modification of journalistic procedure in education and practice, based on modification of projective techniques in psychology. (CRH)

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NUMBER EIGHTY-FIVE

DEAN W. O'BRIEN

The News as Environment

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DEAN W. O'BRIEN

The News as Environment

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JOURNALISTS STRIVE above all for objectivity and newsworthiness. But it appears if the two qualities are inversely related — that one can exist only at the expense of the other. This fundamental conflict in the reporter's craft comes to light, surprisingly, when parallels between the news environment and the physical environment are noticed.

The conflict stems from the human impossibility of achieving objectivity, combined with what seems to be a human reluctance to admit failure, at least in the Western worldview that gave rise to modern journalism and that has been unwilling to accept a tragic sense of life. As a result, reporting is said to be objective not when its words and images accurately represent "the" environment but, more pragmatically, when they coincide with symbols in the minds of significant publics — that is, with what Lippmann called pseudo-environments.[1]

One of the qualities journalists strive for, then, is actually social agreement, consensus, a match between their reports and existing pseudo-environments — in short, authority, not objectivity.[2] The other quality, newsworthiness, especially as novelty, is at odds with authority because the chances for social agreement on something that has not been anticipated are so slight.[3] News organizations are accused of waiting until news is old before reporting it, precisely for fear that excessive newsworthiness will reduce authority.[4] This holds particularly for trend-spotting and similarly original news.

That slow caution is not applied to ordinary hard news, which is handled of course with great competitive speed. The somewhat irrelevant speed is made possible not only by the zeal of journalists but, more to the point, by widely accepted conventions that anticipate certain types of events as real and certify them as worth noticing.[5] This is the news that

Max Ways has said "isn't new enough" and that Michael Arlen has called a "fresh instance of a familiar general occurrence": violent or important death, election outcomes, riots, events we must cope with but cannot influence because they are reported after the "fact" — again, to enhance journalistic authority. So even this quickly-processed news is not really very new.

As implied, the fundamental conflict between the qualities of authority and novelty seems to be out of balance in the practice of journalism, perhaps increasingly so, and the imbalance appears to favor authority heavily, in the name of objectivity and at the risk of libertarian ideals.

An emerging, still scattered body of thought has identified a similar imbalance in such environmental fields as geography, landscape, townscape, and the sociology of tourism. On the whole, this work rises in opposition to the dominant systems-oriented, novelty-excluding approaches in both the professional practice and the academic discourse of the several fields. It directly addresses the critical relationship between novelty and authority, making the relationship far more explicit, vivid and central than it appeared to be in those fields, or in journalism.

An independent but shared discovery of the scholars to be reviewed here is that the exclusion of novelty is tantamount to the exclusion of "experience," a quality whose scarcity has lately increased demand, creating a lively market for events, activities and products supposedly capable of meeting the demand.[6] Readers are coming to ask that even the news provide more in the way of "experience" and less in the way of "facts."[7]

Not unexpectedly, environmental studies contain instructive parallels to journalism. Suggestions that reporting is essentially an environmental issue date back to Plato's metaphor of the cave and continue to seep into professional concerns, most notably in Lippmann's 1923 reformulation and in Lasswell's classic admonition that a prime social function of the communication process is to provide surveillance of the environment.

While surveillance cannot be rejected as a chief obligation of the news media, "the real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for the direct acquaintance," as Lippmann observed. "We have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can manage with it."[8] That simpler model is a "pseudo-environment," which people insert between themselves and the world beyond, according to Lippmann,[9] made up of "their interior representations of the world."[10] And behavior, he wrote, is largely a response to that pseudo-environment, not to the "real" environment, even though it is in the "real" environment that the consequences of the behavior are presumed to occur.[11] There are hints that the media often "report" the pictures in people's heads more than the world outside, as in the instance cited by Lippmann of placing maps in a photograph of General Joffre because "according to popular ideas it is not possible to think of a general without maps."[12]

Another way of putting it is to say that Joffre must be anticipated by the existing, agreed-upon images of a shared, authoritive pseudo-environment in order to register or be counted as worthy of notice.[13] He must be made manageable within a system, more to enhance the authority of the system than to heighten novelty. He thus becomes a unit of information. (Cliches of this sort are rampant in features and news photos. They are common in all photography; as an iconographer has said, "The way most photographs are made is that somebody wants a picture of something that looks a certain way, and he already knows what he wants it to look like.")[14]

So externalized elements of the subjective "pictures in our heads," if they match the pictures in other heads and thereby transmit no novelty, are authorized as "objective." The match-up among pseudo-environments then becomes the central craft problem of journalism. It may even be that experience itself is a sense of the interaction between internal and external environments.

In the pages to follow, studies of "real" environments are examined for clues to understanding the pseudo-environments of news, how they are designed and how people relate to them. The relationship of an audience to the news may be less like that of a listener to a speech and more like that of a tourist to the landscape or a pedestrian to a city scene.

When this possibility is taken seriously, it yields an array of implications for journalism. Perhaps the most important one — that authority and newsworthiness seem to be at odds — is noted above. Others, noted below, include: a concept of news selection as framing and story formulation as subframing, with transcendent nuances; a probable relationship between dogmatism and technological processing; and a rethinking of style consistency, texture, taste, authority, timeliness, proximity, scale and audience involvement as well as other factors which, when identified or recognized anew, can be crafted by journalists to help expand or revive the free marketplace of ideas in its somewhat unanticipated post-modern setting. Failing all that, the intention is at least to widen the discourse on journalism.

News and Sense of Place

In geography, Yi-Fu Tuan writes to enlarge the discourse of professional planners and academics, "to increase the burden of awareness."[15] He argues that "a large body of experiential data is consigned to oblivion because we cannot fit the data to concepts that are taken over uncritically from the physical sciences . . . Experiences are slighted or ignored because the means to articulate them or point them out are lacking."[16] His effort is to introduce novel, or alien, considerations into the authority-centered coherence (and convenience) of the dominating pseudo-

environment of analytical thought, which "has transformed our physical and social environment. Evidences of its power are everywhere."[17] This power is so great that "knowing about" is commonly mistaken for "knowing" and actual "knowing" takes on frivolous, insubstantial, doubtful character,[18] much as it often does in journalism.

When Tuan tries to get at the way the world is apprehended, he sounds much like Lippmann: "Nature is too diffuse, its stimuli too powerful and conflicting, to be directly accessible to the human mind and sensibility. First man creates the circle . . . and then he can discern circles and cyclical processes everywhere in nature."[19]

Much of Tuan's thinking revolves around the notion that a built environment (like any other externalized pseudo-environment, including the news) stands between people and the world beyond, sharpening awareness of the internal self and the external world if it is well designed. Although he doesn't trace out the implications, it follows from his thinking that good design would articulate a relationship of dynamic balance between internal and external, mediating, moderating both to keep the dialogue between them alive, neither trapping a person in what he calls a "place" nor marooning that person in unprotective "space."

Whether or not it succeeds in this humane way, the built environment, "like language," defines sensibility. "Without architecture, feelings about space remain diffuse and fleeting."[20] After the womblike cave of Neolithic times, for example, "the hut emerged above ground, moving away from the earth matrix but retaining and even accentuating the contrast between interior and outside by the aggressive rectilinearity of its walls."[21] Like any unit of meaning in a pseudo-environment, almost every architectural gesture expresses a relationship between in and out. (The point is so basic that it applies to the definition of any word, which requires an assertion of what its meaning includes and what it excludes.) Inclusion and thereby exclusion are primary functions of pseudo-environments.

In South Nias, Tuan notes, "slaves live either in the field beyond the cosmic village or under the village dwellings and share space with pigs."[22] In short, they are literally and metaphorically *outside*, in space, not place. This parallels the criticism raised by the "violence commission," that the news media routinely exluded Blacks and others from normal coverage for so long that they increased the likelihood of violence[23] by making it necessary for Blacks and others to force their way into the village of public meaing as defined by conventional news values. Editing along the old grooves of a fixed pseudo-environment can be very dangerous in the long run, possibly more dangerous than the physical exclusion Tuan describes. In any case, literal and metaphorical environments readily convert, one into the other.

Place is defined by Tuan as "a concretion of value . . . an object in which one can dwell."[24] It is "an organized world of meaning;[25] it is

"saturated with significance."[26] In brief, it is a pseudo-environment.

On the other hand, "space is more abstract than place."[27] It "can be variously experienced as the relative location of objects or places, as the distances and expanses that separate or link places, and — more abstractly — as the area defined by a network of places."[28]

The relations between the two concepts are described in this way by Tuan:[29]

> What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. The ideas "space" and "place" require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.

Print media are immediately recognizable as media that provide places and places within places, linked or separated by space. Some of the elements of this characterization have been delineated in studies on the graphics of prose.[30] More broadly, though, print media provide "objects in which one can dwell" and the "security and stability of place" through which the reader is enabled to view "openness, freedom, and threat of space." These are the great experential advantages of print media.

More literally in this context, framing is one of the two critical functions of print media (the other being distribution of emphasis within the frame, or a kind of sub-framing). Framing as a defining of place clearly includes the location and selection (inclusion/exclusion) of a particular space within a camera's viewfinder as well as the cropping of photographs, deciding what is to be included on a page and what isn't, gatekeeping in general, the using of boxes and other display devices on the page, the chopping of a story "up from the bottom" by the copy editor, and the like.

Television is less recognizable in the context of place and space. Tuan writes that "as adults, after a day of strenuous exertion, we sink gratefully into an armchair and relax in its receptive hollow while we watch televised news of mayhem."[31] Tuan's point seems to be that the view of space beyond sharpens the sense of being in a contrasting place full of security, coziness and ease. There is certainly evidence that television news serves many viewers as a sedative, somehow adding to their ease and comfort.[32] But the locus of security and stability, according to Tuan's description, would not appear to be so much within the frame of the television set as within the room where it is viewed. Moreover, television is not a static, frozen-moment medium, as print is, and place, Tuan observes, "is essentially a static concept."[33]

In any medium, the business of symbols is to provide a "view" of space beyond. If symbols are to be defined as objects that stand for something other than themselves, then it becomes evident that they function chiefly as links between place and space, between here and there, between now

and then. Sense of place, or of environment, then becomes the most important faculty in communication, perhaps even distinguishing communication from information-processing. The "burden of awareness" is therefore implicit in the use of symbols. It can be repressed, as it is in authority-enhancing messages, or it can be expressed, as it is in novelty-bearing messages, but it cannot be eliminated without losing the capacity to communicate.[34]

"The man does not attend to distant reference points, since he is playing with his dog," Tuan writes. "Yet this large tacit knowledge is necessary to his sense of being at home and oriented in the small arena of activity."[35] For every here there must be some there, which Tuan calls "mythical space . . . a fuzzy area of defective knowledge surrounding the empirically known; it frames pragmatic space."[36] Factual errors abound in this unperceived field, this "fuzzy ambience of the unknown which gives man confidence in the known."[37] In an important sense, this parallels Karl Jaspers' conclusion that "it is thinkable that there may be an unthinkable."[38]

In a statement more conspicuously applicable to journalism, Tuan says, "Facts require contexts in order to have meaning, and contexts invariably grow fuzzy and mythical around the edges."[39] Any reporter trying to cover the edges is going to have some trouble claiming authority, therefore, but his beat is sure to be newsworthy not just because novelty originates in ambiguity but also because a society is defined as much by its borders, or framing, as it is by the distribution of emphasis, or subframing, within its borders. News from the edges of shared meaning can force some redefinition of the edges and shape of shared meaning. Through such redefinition, a society strengthens its culture, or pseudo-environment. Paradoxically, in the long run, authority is enhanced. The First Amendment exists more to protect this possibility than any other. The "free flow of information" entirely within a fixed immediate pseudo-environment is important in a clerical, office-management way and is so recognized, no doubt, under any political system, but it speaks little to the human spirit, except in nagging reprimands.

The fear is that modern cultural domination by systems contrived and controlled by experts and enforced by technology drives the the "fuzzy area of defective knowledge" further and further from consciousness. High energy technology inaccessible to laymen seems to enforce this perceptual and intellectual totalitarianism as effectively as armies have protected traditional political dictatorships. High energy, expensive and esoteric technologies serve to seal off or at least reduce a layman's access to his internal idiosyncratic, or novel, perceptions and to his external cultural grounding, particularly as it is defined by its fuzzy and mythical edges. As Tuan implied (above), when the sense of a distant, indefinite edge is lost, then the meaning of clear, close-up experience is destroyed.

News media are in a position either to abet the perceptual monopoly by enhancing the authority of prevailing pseudo-environments or to foster a sense of place and self by reporting and, hence, incorporating novelty found at the increasingly elusive edges.

The edge of ambiguity that makes meaning possible is temporal as well as spatial. While print has a special power and therefore a special obligation to pique consciousness of the hazy edges spatially, television can do it temporally. The point bears some general resemblance to McLuhan's notion of a definition variable. In any case, television shapes meaning and, hence, ambiguity more through time than through space; it uses, controls and serially frames time but has markedly less power over space. It is not subject to the presumably great print-oriented Faustian temptation to say to the moment, "Hold, thou art so fair." Rather, television's predeliction is to keep it moving, no matter what. A result seems to be that sense of process takes precedence over sense of place.

Television is like the "high-salaried executive (who) moves about so much that places for him tend to lose their special character," as Tuan describes a dominant sensibility of our time.[40] This condition of declining sensitivity to the peculiarity of particulars (novelty) accelerates information-processing[41] which, in turn, seems to further blur the particulars, thus enhancing a sense of larger, more-encompassing pattern, at least according to McLuhan's familiar claim — all of which creates an authority-heavy imbalance in the system, or pseudo-environment.

Television's part in this self-fulfilling mechanism would appear to stem from its technological bias, emphasizing time (movement) rather than space or place. So television's greatest virtue, that it seems more lifelike than any other medium, is probably its greatest flaw, in that television is not easily recognized as a pseudo or symbolic environment, which necessarily only refers to and represents reality but cannot directly present it. Because print is so conspicuously unlike the things it represents, the dissembling inherent in all encoding is obvious in print: the hazy edges of vivid immediate place are clearly implied, the humane and doomed effort to capture reality in feeble symbols is dramatized, and the provisional nature of finite assertions is evident while the assertions themselves are made "permanent" (putting the mistakes on the long record of human revision), the meaninglessness of the inert symbols without referents or readers is obvious and so the chances for authoritarian domination should be reduced.

If audience consciousness of the intervening medium improves the odds for non-authoritarian, novelty-bearing messages, as may be the case in print, then it seems that television could say more if it called more attention to itself as a symbol-dealing (limited) medium, probably by being less slick and "professional," more experimental. Out-takes, for example, would regularly be aired. (Top Value Television produced interesting

work of this kind for a while.) By definition, such strategies would not work for entertainment, with its requirement for "suspending disbelief," but in news there is some commitment to incorporate novelty, with all the direct examination of beliefs which that implies.

At the very least, journalistic decisions should probably be informed by the larger human values at stake in them, and if the decisions still continue to favor "slick, professional" authority over novelty, there should be some awareness of what is lost. Otherwise journalism will deteriorate into the menial, rote operation that the growing numbers of its critics think it already is.

Places may lose their novelty or "special character" in the pseudo-environment of executives and television reporters and, because people act on their imagined environments with effects in the real environment, as Lippmann suggests, places may be losing their special character in fact. But movement need not be a perpetual circulating — blurring particulars, reinforcing gross patterns and reducing the sense of experience sinking in. Movement can serve to define pause. Tuan notes that places are pauses in movement: home or a stopping place enroute or a goal, which itself may become a new home from which to embark.[42]

Journalist and Tourist

Within a framework similar to the basic home-"camp"-goal scheme of Tuan's experiential place and space, Dean MacCannell develops a sociological theory of tourism[43] which more deeply explores dynamic and symbolic aspects that help explain, perhaps more substantively, the interactions between internal and external environments — interactions which develop sense of place, cultivate fresh syntheses and (to use MacCannell's terms) authenticate experience.

Not unlike the role of the Crusades in the ethos of an earlier era, the quest for authentic experience pervades the occupations and preoccupations, the underlying sense of things, in our time.[44] Interestingly, the search is advanced, not impeded, by artificial re-presentations of the sight, however tacky the souvenir or extravagant the brochure. In fact, recognized tackiness tacitly reinforces a faith in the existence of authenticity somewhere: elsewhere, no doubt (certainly not here). The searcher is then driven onward to find authenticity, MacCannell maintains, in opposition to Boorstin on this point.[45]

Slightly more sophisticated than Boorstin on this, MacCannell assumes that all representations are unauthentic but prerequisite to the sharpening and expanding of perception through a "dialectic" between representation and referent as the referent is freshly perceived; this is a central characteristic of novelty-laden pseudo-environments. The recognition of the "tackiness" motivates the continuation of the human adventure in

meaning; it does not block the adventure, except in authority-centered pseudo-environments. When tackiness is recognized as a pseudo-environmental parochialism but is in a sense honored by our trying to translate ephemeral perceptions into its admittedly inadequate language — creating perhaps a grander tackiness — then there is a mutual authentication between experience and symbols, or culture.

Importantly, a newspaper serves as a souvenir of community experience, authenticating it and being authenticated by it. In the same vein, Richard Salant as head of CBS News said that newspaper coverage of television authenticates that more ephemeral medium, giving it substance and "immortality."[46]

In search of authenticity, tourists go from sight to sight, trying to break through the representations of the sights (the brochures, stereotypes, tourist-trap stagings), which actually provide the aura for the sights, giving them mystery, meaning and importance, MacCannell writes. The tourists' perceptions of natives along the route refresh the natives' perceptions of themselves, their cultures and lifestyles, leading to self-awareness and improvement. MacCannell shows that groups and nations aware in this way of their tourist potential flourish in the modern post-industrial world. He even argues that this kind of self-consciousness is the most likely salvation for the remaining pre-industrial societies.

But seeing themselves as tourists see them undercuts the natives' genuineness in the *tourists'* eyes. For their part, tourists never find the untainted, unselfconscious, symbol-free, pure-novelty environment with no "pseudo" in it: "Although tourists adopt the rhetoric of adventure, they are never independent of a social arrangement wherein a host organizes the experiences of a sightseeing guest."[47] So the ideal authenticity sought by tourists keeps receding beyond them until they reach their ultimate destination, which is home. Then, if there's any flicker of consciousness or any openness to experience, erstwhile tourists see the possibilities in their hometown environments and are inclined to make them more satisfying, more in line with their fresh perceptions of what they sought.

Journalists, also in search of authenticity, travel from one source, event and sight to another. They try to penetrate the markers and the "staged authenticity" of front regions (news releases, government handouts, pseudo-events) to reach genuine back regions, in Erving Goffman's terms.[48] Along the way, sources' perceptions of themselves are informed, altered, and if the sources are open to the experience they will be made more conscious and poised by it. The news media probably have a better record in educating sources than in educating audiences. Meanwhile, audiences vicariously accompany reporters in the search for authenticity in our time, day to day.

Because the world functions as a metaphor of the self, the tourist's venturing out is simultaneously a venturing in, at its best an exploration of

repressed and neglected possibilities in his own personality and perception, externalized for safety's sake. It is a serial penetration of false fronts or pseudo-environments, quite the same as the interpretation of dreams, which requires the understanding that manifest dream content is there to reveal, and, at the same time, hide "real" meaning. The wit and invention of dreamwork, from visual puns to wish-fear transformations, is as engaging and awesome as the tourist experience, but only for those willing to join the symbolic game.

For the rest, those who take tourist sights at face value or flatly reject them as spurious, the tourist experience becomes, like their dreams, a mere entertainment of displaced gratification or another instance of the foolishness one must put up with in this life; these are clearly authority-centered responses to maintain the stability of existing and familiar pseudo-environments. (In our time, much "conceptual art" has capitalized on just such public dreamwork — from Andy Warhol's mimicry to Cristo's walls and environmental events — manipulating the pseudo-environment of news values, mass media language, landscape and celebrity to explore the relationships between manifest and latent content. Who was once a publicity agent is now a conceptual artist.)

It is probably the search itself that authenticates experience. The journalistic habit of straining for unrelieved authority only blocks the search, blunts the senses; like the authority-centered response to dreams and tourist sights, it either takes human events at face value or rejects them as false or frivolous. Neither response permits accurate reporting of symbolic events and by its very coverage every event becomes symbolic. Ironically, much of what professionals usually call hard news is, in this framework, entertainment, things taken at face value but attended because they provide displaced gratification or what Schramm would call immediate reward. The recognition of failed pseudo-events, which could lead to a penetration of their meaning, is usually edited out or righteously "exposed," not because it fails to reveal truth in the world but because it fails to fit the template of newsworld truth.

Getting rid of markers and symbols would not enhance the touristic search for authenticity, then. To have a useful Hegelian-style "dialectic," there must be a separation between the two contending elements, between symbol and referent. Television news could make that separation clearer by shifting away from its authority-centered bias. Walter Cronkite's closing line, "And that's the way it is," precisely expressed what is wrong with television news. Television news should be delivered from that very attractive temptation and implicity admit: "That's the way it is — and isn't."

A symbol gains force by functioning as a symbol rather than by claiming to be the thing it represents — except perhaps in the sacred realms of worship, which journalism cannot replace without seriously violating

its iconoclastic role under the First Amendment. As it is now, with television news exploiting its technical illusion of reality, the awareness-heightening dialectic is fudged and sometimes even reversed so that events and public figures come to look like symbolic representations of Television Reality.[49]

Journalism exists to do more than recapitulate what is in the audience's mind. It must crash this party of the already-known. It is no routine, industrial, "information-processing" job to make the invisible and the unheard-of noticeable in human thought. Because the odds against success are so overwhelming, it would seem, the task is understandably but too often redefined in order to give oneself and others the impression of a higher "efficiency" level. But techniques have developed to overcome the odds and at least to try to meet the original, unredefined journalistic obligation.

One technique is to exchange guesses, hypotheses, provisional descriptions and evaluations with other journalists at the event — in the sociological commonplace ritual of "reality-testing" — to develop a socially acceptable representation of the event — that is, a respresentation recognizable within the categories of a pseudo-environment, that of colleagues on a trial basis and eventually that of an audience, or so it is hoped.[50] The process synthesizes some variation on the "social reality," or pseudo-environment, that existed before the exchange if the exchange has been open and novelty-welcoming. The process is so critical and delicate that is deserves detailed study.

This process may be perceived more freshly if its precise parallel to what tourists do is understood: "In the last moments of the sightseeing act, there is a little flurry of activity during which markers are passed back and forth, added and subtracted, and eventually organized in a final composition relating several markers, the tourist and the sight . . . In other words, the act of sightseeing culminates in the tourist linking to the sight a marker of his very own. In so doing, he is supposed to indicate whether or not the sight has lived up to his expectations.[51]

The joint ceremonial labor to achieve a sense of having authentically experienced the sight or event, then, is encoding, is the work of journalism, the work of linking internal to external in a usually exciting series of transformations between symbol and referent, a perceptual match-up, as in a contest — none of which can occur if the symbol is thought to *be* for all practical purposes its referent, if a pseudo-environment (however "professional") is thought to be essentially *the* environment.

Quantification, metaphor, simile, comparison and contrast are among the techniques available to leap the gap between the anticipating symbol and the unanticipated concrete particular faced here and now in this event. Of these, quantification is probably the weakest though exceedingly common technique, especially in a culture dominated by the "objective

consciousness,"[52] even if, as Samuel Johnson remarked, counting can help by bringing "everything to a certainty which before floated in the mind indefinitely."[53] Quantification assumes a stable (authority-centered) pseudo-environment through which the existence of things is largely known and the only remaining question is: To what extent do they exist? The more literary devices of metaphor and the like are far more revolutionary because they necessarily challenge the order of pseudo-environments extant by asking whether a thing exists at all and, if it does, what is it, what symbol best represents it?

Whatever the technique, the behavior is a kind of border negotiation, a transformation of exotic particulars into native symbols, and perpetual redefinition of pseudo-environmental borders, a mediation between "the world outside and the pictures in our heads." The use of stereotypes, on the other hand, is a technique for avoiding the nuisance and excitement of these negotiations. As an image that claims to account for alien pseudo-environment within an all-encompassing native pseudo-environment, the stereotype is a prime authority-enhancing device that closes the borders to novel particulars. But MacCannell is optimistic in the realm of touristic imagery, at least: "The original macro-differentiations of the tourist world were labeled by outsiders — The Wild West, The Dark Continent, The Mysterious East — but with the growth of modern tourism, the imagery has become more complex and comprehensive, and there is a systematic effort to bring the consciousness of the insider into alignment with that of the outsider."[54]

The genre of adventure journalism provides blatant examples of the macro-differentiation of stereotyping. Goading "wild" animals to act ferociously was a standard practice of the genre, enhancing the writer's or photographer's "heroism" and the audience's smug pseudo-environment while misrepresenting the animals.[55] In reference to "Darkest Africa," Henry M. Stanley was a master of the genre. In reference to Spain, William Randolph Hearst was good at it. More subtley, we still have it in reference to the women's movement, the arts, educational philosophy, environmentalism, and other pseudo-environments that strike reporters as exotic or remote. It is a beating-off of a novel particulars from alien pseudo-environments to sustain and to give the appearance of expanding the coherence of one's own group. It is an imperialism of symbols.

As shown by the studies of Nazi propaganda, it works (for a while) within one's own group, reinforcing parochial platitudes, but it is eminently unsuccessful in the Caucasus, in alien groups. It would seem to originate in alienation and the apparent desire to be "one of the boys." (Hitler was no more German than Napoleon was French, and Stanley's life was shaped by a similar yearning for legitimacy.)[56] It clearly fosters alienation elsewhere, which may be, at bottom, its vengeful purpose.

But within the framework of pseudo-environments, every one of us is alienated as a condition of consciousness, making possible the precious recognition of the inevitable discrepancies between shared symbols and the novel particulars that arise, internally and externally, which recognition makes symbolic transformations possible, thereby correcting the symbol system for the moment, advancing the search, refining perception, and authenticating experience.

"The alienation of modern man, the work of making him feel that he does not belong, is accompanied by the double movement of the individual into new and foreign situations, and by moving attractions out of their original cultural contexts," according to MacCannell, who goes on to observe that "the Egyptian obelisk standing in Central Park in New York City came here as an alien, just as the tourist who glances up at it in a moment of silent identification is also an alien."[57] The double movement has clearly intensified in the modern era, making the matter of alienation more poignant and salient. While this invites the temptation of fearful authority-centered militancy, it also expands the potential of consciousness and communication, which is an act of taking an image or idea out of its original cultural context and creating a new context for it, a context that mediates between the original pseudo-environment and the new one, altering both.[58]

Introduction of the alien or novel element legitimates the alienation that all individuals in a pseudo-environment necessarily feel at some level — just as the alien obelisk symbolically allowed for the tourist's alienation, no doubt comforting and liberating him. That is probably why, against all odds, original communication — including news — is so attractive. News, like history in Kierkegaard's view, demonstrates human possibility.[59] In those terms, the separation of object from symbol, the side-by-side existence of alienation and orderly inclusion, is essential for productive communication. (For Sartre, the tension between *en-soi* and *pour-soi*, roughly parallel to my distinction, primarily produces *angst*.)[60]

Things out of place — drive-in restaurants built to look like Aztec temples, gas stations in the form of tepees, "authentic French country houses" for sale on Philadelphia's Main Line — are called "tacky" or, when expensive, "pretentious" at least by "puritans, liberals, and snobs," MacCannell writes. But "pretense and tackiness generate the belief that somewhere, only not right here, not right now, perhaps over there someplace, in another country, in another lifestyle, in another social class, perhaps, there is a *genuine* society."[61] Communication requires that sense of real things existing elsewhere, things worth saying, things outside the borders of a pervasively present pseudo-environment, whether they exist in another society, in overlooked particulars, or somewhere skulking in the dark back alleys of the mind. Otherwise, symbolic claustrophobia sets in.

Medium and City

Claustrophobia can set in, quite literally, in urban environments whose designers failed to provide for the same kind of interaction required in good communication — an interaction growing out of a sense of balance between in and out, facilitated by interesting access from one to the other. Such interaction is the essence of cityscape and townscape, according to Peter F. Smith in *The Syntax of Cities.*[62]

A stimulating place suggests the existence of something beyond immediate, coherent surroundings, beyond the authority of a familiar pseudo-environment, as in many historic hill-towns where "fissures suddenly appear in the high density building to reveal a strip of limitless vista. The contrast between the here and the beyond is carried to the limit."[63] The contrast makes for a visual dialectic, "a ritual combat with the larger dimensions of nature,"[64] evoking a strong sense of place. Ideally, "the foreground is filled with the minutiae of the moment: all the clutter of life at short focus."[65] It may be more accurate to speak of the *coherence* of life at short focus. In any case, there are in the background intimations of a more indeterminate reality against which the dignity and drama of being here now stand out. As a result, in the streets of certain cities — as in the columns of the best newspapers — "consciousness seems to take on a sharper edge."[66]

Quite the opposite effect is achieved by most American enclosed shopping malls and British Standard Shopping Precincts, which deny urbanism, Smith asserts. "Wherever they occur they act like enormous vacuum pumps, sweeping up the life from the surrounding streets . . . (Their) tedious external architectural expression emphasizes the fact that (they are) introvert building(s)." Interest and urbanity evaporate from such architectural "non-events."[67] With no fissures, no visual interaction with the larger dimensions of nature or culture, they exist to process people in one (commercial) dimension; they "get the job done." They are unambiguous concrete and steel diagrams of authority-centered pseudo-environments.

Environments enclose. It is their nature, their essential definition. The news is supposed to disclose. But there can be no disclosing, or "unclosing," until there has been a closing. Enclosure, then, precedes disclosure. So the argument here is not that pseudo-environments are bad and should therefore be eliminated; it is, rather, that pseudo-environments *are* and should therefore be recognized. Recognition of enclosure makes disclosure possible; failure to recognize it constitutes the absolutist sense that the familiar pseudo-environment encloses or comprehends "reality," which of course makes disclosure impossible. Sealed-off malls and other self-centered physical spaces discourage disclosure just as a routinized, information-processing news environment (not recognizing itself as a

pseudo-environment) does.

Good urban design recognizes these logical necessities and expresses them in the most physical, vivid way, putting people *in* enough for security and *out* enough for vitality. Some features that tend to break the absolutist grip of a pious townscape are, besides "fissures," textural range, opportunities for participation, downright vulgarity, public "stages" for the presentation of self, unexpected or even disturbing symbols, the intrusion of buildings from other places or times and, generally, challenges to the existing order (an order often expressed in zoning ordinances).

In townscape, textural range is one of the factors that can break the grip of an existing environment seen as an impenetrable unyielding "given," as a slick authority-centered pseudo-environment. Smith writes:[68]

> Another symbolic factor behind the texture and form of natural materials is that they proclaim man's handiwork. In a stone, brick or timber edifice, the craft construction process is evident, and the impress of hand tools may be part of the texture. There is great importance in buildings which testify to human genius and dexterity. A glass and steel office block of indeterminate height evokes little sense of wonder, since its parts are products of a machine, and their assembly is a skill of very low order compared with such miracles of human endeavor as medieval cathedrals.

In addition to its providing the possibility of ennobling human identity, texture can physically invite human penetration of an environment:

> Finally, texture defines scale and distance. Surface modeling can modify the perceived scale of quite massive buildings. Experience establishes certain probabilities about distance, such as binary vision, perspective and the texture gradient. Texture emphasizes the three-dimensionality of space, whereas smooth concrete or similar materials may be ambiguous when it comes to perceiving changes in plane.[69]

Perceived three-dimensionality is clearly requisite to human penetration. And uniformity of texture diminishes the human capacity to perceive spatial "events" — or probably any kind of event, for that matter.

And yet, in journalism, stylebook consistency blankets the world of public affairs, producing an authoritative texture which seems to be more readily recognized and registered than the content, the events, it is meant to transmit. There are hints in recent studies of news viewing and reading[70] to suggest that a significant share of the audience is comforted by the predictable, earnest drone of hard news treatment but pays little attention to its content, in keeping with the nature of an authority-centered pseudo-environment and reminiscent of a child's need for parental presence and stability — the sense of someone-taking-care-of-things — along with the child's scant attention and general indifference to the message conveyed by the parent. (This requires further research, centered more directly on questions raised by the pseudo-environmental construction of the problem.) The Murrow style of intensity, imper-

sonated by most network reporters since, closely resembles Smith's description of architectural style in the same period: "The style of the 1950s is unyielding, stern and deadly serious, a puritanical rebuke to the licentious people who built Gothic cathedrals."[71]

Readers probably seek out the letters-to-the-editor column as much for a break in the uniformity of a newspaper's professional tone as for a variation in opinion. If the parallel between cityscape and news environment holds, then the letters column provides assurance that a person can get away with saying things right out in public in a way that varies from the certified drone. It suggested that people can get away with being themselves in company with the events and people that count this day in history. There's room for Us in Them, readers are likely to feel, however cramped the quarters. The texture, or tone, of television may be less varied except for a few commercials and programs that use untutored actors, or actors tutored to seem untutored.

Scale is thought to be major determinant of human participation in cityscape, as it may well be in news-scape. Even in medieval times, the connection between scale and participation seems to have been a consideration in architecture, according to recent measurements indicating that the average dimensions of European town squares built during the period represent the maximum distance at which people with normal sight can recognize one another.[72] Again, it is a matter of telling people that they count by allowing them, in this case, to see, be seen and interact.

On a more metaphorical level, excessive size suggests not only that people are inconsequentially small but that other buildings are irrelevant. A smaller new building, closer to the scale of its surroundings, however, "is acceptable as a party to a dialogue" with its neighbors, Smith writes, "because it makes no attempt to dominate the conversation" and so "establishes a rhythm between opposites" while it "sharpens perception of both old and new."[73] Like a domineering conversationalist, a massive building has the look of a *fait accompli.* It makes its audience feel helpless and dependent which in turn, given the necessity for ego survival, makes the audience rebellious. (Disaster movies feature the destruction of frail, self-centered, man-made environments by the supposedly vanquished and excluded forces of nature, to the evident delight of large audiences.)

Too often, a news story is a *fait accompli* with similar effects[74] — and similar origins in a problem of scale.[75] Lippmann wrote that "before a series of events become news they have usually to make themselves noticeable in some more or less overt act. Generally, too, in a crude overt act."[76] Most news starts small, barely visible but in a manageable human scale. The essential question is, at what point should (and can) it be made public? One factor is the journalist's skill, her ability to perceive small events in their potential relation to big events. This inevitably has an ele-

ment of speculation, which threatens the authority of the news but, by the same token, invites wider participation in the dialogue, as is characteristic of a novelty-centered pseudo-environment. This will also tend to prevent the eventual emergence of big news as it sharpens perception of troubles before they are too big to control and as it heightens the drama of the more personal life, making it more significant and satisfying.

(Referring to the 1950s, Joan Didion has observed: "We were all very personal then, sometimes relentlessly so . . . We were silent because the exhilaration of social action seemed to many of us just one more way of escaping the personal, of masking for a while that dread of the meaninglessness which was man's fate."[77] The meaninglessness beyond the public scale either way, zero or infinity, frames human meaning, makes it possible, and part of the present argument is that human meaning is trivial without this sense of its edge. Massive scale tends to obscure the sense of a beyond as much as it obscures the sense of a within. The perceptive power of Didion's own reporting of small human clues stands as a superb example of the more skillful reporting the future will require, if that future is not to be destroyed by the terminal obsession with Big News.)

Beyond the pragmatic social need for participation in the management of developing situations before it is too late, there is the deep individual need for belonging. "In most civilizations and cultures there is a profound symbolic importance attached to the physically defined centre of the community. It is bound up with the need to be accepted by a community: it symbolizes citizenship and allows the individual to bask a little in the glory of the super-image of that society."[78] Like a news medium, "the city centre becomes a stage set in which citizens enact a drama in which all the roles are larger than life."[79] The only worlds that a human community clearly shares daily, directly, sensually, almost unavoidably are the immediate physical surroundings (townscape, landscape and, in a different sense, weather) and in most modern circumstances the mass-mediated environment. Other worlds are more fragmented, specialized (vocations, hobbies, religions, neighborhoods, social groups, political parties) or more indirect, elusive (government, education, the economy). When endeavors in these other worlds are not made manifest or "published" in architecture or mass media, they probably fail to satisfy the deep need to be part of The Scene.

The need to transcend The Scene, to find human connections beyond the severe limitations of the present time and place, is probably just as compelling. In townscape, the inclusion of construction from other times and places serves at once to break the grip of the immediate and to pique appreciation of the immediate. (In psychotherapy, when a patient is freed from the grip of dependency on intimate others, he comes to perceive the

others with more precision and richness. Liberation of this kind tends to deepen authentic attachments to the immediate. Indeed, current variations are not even discernible unless they are set against a background or "data base" of elsewhere and elsewhen,[80] unless they are seen and gauged through a pseudo-environmental screen constructed of images from other times and places.)

According to Smith, the intrusion of history into a townscape: (1) comforts with the evidence that people have survived, often gracefully, the exigencies of the past, (2) provides a fixed reference point against which the present can be measured and (3) stimulates by bringing opposites together in a single context, thus suggesting the possibility of synthesis through a "bipolar dialectic."[81]

History alone is not news, and it's a naive editor who thinks otherwise. But news alone, without some historical and geographical perspective, captures the audience in a set of entirely unprecedented and thereby meaningless circumstances, cutting off the roots from which the public must draw to meet the current situation. Sealing off the past is sealing off the present, then; the fantasy that contemporary concerns are all encompassing is, like other authority-centered pseudo-environments, temporarily satisfying, if smug, but ultimately false and anxiety-ridden. The omnipresence of the past — as well as the constant revision of what the past was — must be included in the news. That will demand a reemphasis on history, especially cultural and intellectual history, in the preparation of journalists.

Even vulgarity needs a friend in our time, for all the reasons given by the U.S. Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.[82] Not that vulgarity is limited to this one sexual dimension but that, since it is apparently the one dimension recognized by most people, it is the one on which professional communicators are asked to take a stand. In fact, vulgarity is much richer than one dimension. Originality is seldom seen to be in good taste, wherever it occurs. (By definition, it violates an authority-centered pseudo-environment.) William H. White pleaded: Oh for "at least one hideous house to relieve good taste."[83] We don't need a First Amendment to protect good taste, William Kunstler once remarked. Taste is usually provincial, defined by a particular pseudo-environment. The unsuccessful introduction of novel or alien symbolism into a pseudo-environment is usually called bad taste.

Linking here-now with there-then is the task of journalism and of urban design; it is the inescapable task or "burden" of consciousness. It seems to be achieved on a continuum of implication, reaching from the most indirect sense of the word (something to be inferred or understood without being expressly stated) to the most direct (the act of involving). "Fissures," textural range, participatory scale, "stage" settings for presentation of Self on The Scene, the intrusion of elements from alien

times and places, and vulgarity — these devices tend to function at the indirect end of the scale, intimating, suggesting, hinting that allowance can be made in the here-now for a fugitive there-then outside the dominant symbolism, whether it is beyond the ethnocentric, even beyond Homeo-centric, or deep within the inexpressible, perhaps eccentric, privacy of an individual. Or both. But these devices can also function more directly. Scale, for example, apparently can evoke direct social behavior.

Other devices are more specifically meant to involve a "client" in the micro-pseudoenvironment of a townscape or message. These devices tend to invite, beckon, provide literal access and routes through. They may even command. In townscape, some of the devices are: the narrow streets opening out into a wide piazza (inside, the same "plot" characterizes the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright), the street curving so that its assets are progressively revealed, the succession of dark to bright, the gates and arches which accent tension between different kinds of spaces and yet provide passage from one to another, the blurred interface, and "up, round and beyond" formula whereby a participant is given promise of gratification (the ultimate destination may be glimpsed above the rooftops in the distance) and an eventful route to it, often increasing the pulse rate as the participant climbs to the climax.

The construction of an effective news or feature story is not so different. The chance of a reader consuming a story, as Schramm said,[84] is equal to the promise of reward (the spire above the rooftops) divided by the effort required to get there (the difficulties of the route provided). One measure of the difficulties of the route provided, as found in a study on the graphics of prose, is the frequency of rest stops, marked by punctuation as well as by sentence and paragraphs breaks visible on first inspection of the story or route, while the potential reader is deciding whether or not to tackle it.[85]

While the two psycho-environmental factors are the same in journalism, newsform is a symbolic ordering that reverses traditional townscape principles as well as literary style. (Features, on the other hand, are nearly parallel to traditional townscape strategy.) Instead of following the basic "up, round and beyond," the inverted pyramid offers a walk *down* Ludgate Hill from the majesty of St. Paul's to the detail and bustle of Fleet Street, luring the consumer *into* mazes of specificity. Television news, typically perceived as a kind of airborne operation, tends to flit from one point of high ground to another, seldom descending to explore everyday reality below the peaks even though its physical characteristics seem to give it the power to explore the low ground at least as vividly as other media can; on the whole, it is made up of "considerable protuberances," as Dr. Johnson once called mountains, but even high ground flattens to meaninglessness when there is no significant

low ground to give relief.

The terrain of the day's events becomes a matter of indifference when there is no indication of access, no paths into it. Thoughtful routing or, in writing, careful organization can offer paths that incorporate subgoals,[86] limited task disclosure,[87] teleological rewards for the goal-oriented cultural bias,[88] articulation between the here and the there[89] — inductive space which at once provides "the satisfaction gained from experiencing serial rhythms" and implies "the hidden 'beyond,' actuating the Abraham syndrome,"[90] the call to venture forth.

The parallels between cityscape and news-scape are numerous. Additional ones include the problem of misperceiving events in order to facilitate rapid processing,[91] the importance of surprise, or novelty,[92] the limbic logic that "size is a direct indication of importance,"[93] the need for communal agreement to establish what is "real" or "objective,"[94] the tendency of immediate profit, systems analysis, and so-called functional values to flatten the symbolic contours of cityscape and newsday,[95] and the significance of the old news value, proximity, in constructing a sense of place where "the mood of 'hereness' predominates over 'thereness'."[96] Only the dullest sense of proximity can exist where local surroundings are barely distinguishable from other environments.

A serious problem in townscape is that everywhere is getting to look much the same[97] through an economic bias toward cliches (standardization) and through a pseudo-sophisticated inclination of architects who "seem to bear a grudge against the locale of their buildings."[98] — not unlike reporters and editors who would rather be elsewhere (New York or Washington) and act as if they already were. "The problem, according to readers, is that editors do not seem to regard local news as being as important as national and international news, and as a result, downplay local events," creating "a major source of alienation."[99] In pseudo-environmental terms, neither here nor there has much communicative significance when one excludes or ignores the other.

Similarly, the meaning of news is minimal when the interaction between "the pictures in our heads" and "the world outside" is minimal. So, if the aesthetic experience is "a rapport between the mind and external reality," as Smith says it is,[100] then journalism becomes, in large measure, an aesthetic problem, a problem of building rapport or of connecting inner and outer as well as here and there.

Meaning and Nature

In the field of landscape studies, Jay Appleton demonstrates how the mind assigns meaning to the environment, turning indifferent geological formations and plants into "messages" that seem to be targeted for human needs.[101] Some of these messages are elaborated to allow human participation through symbolic enterprises that range from golf to mountain climbing.[102]

But each of these activities has its own pseudo-environment with rules, names, techniques, limits and lore intervening between the participant and the environment, preventing direct confrontation, perhaps humanizing the encounter, certifying it as experience with some symbolic, communicable potential. So participation probably reinforces the pseudo-environment through which the participant acts as it reassures the existential individual of his mastery. As in reporting, immediate raw apprehension of what's really "out there" seldom occurs. Or at least it is not often mentioned.

The effect of an intervening pseudo-environment has been described with recognizable precision by John Fowles who, in telling of his "nature study" approach to flowers, said it tends to "cast a mysterious veil of deadness, of having already happened, over the actual and present event or phenomenon."[103] Of his first look at Military orchids he wrote: "I realized I had not actually *seen* the three plants . . . Despite all the identifying, measuring, photographing, I had managed to set the experience in a kind of present past, a having-looked, even as I was temporarily and physically still looking."[104]

It is much the same on the police beat. Get the names, addresses, ages, the other facts, and get them all in a category. Oh, yes, this is the one where the young punks mug the old man and take his lifetime savings. No, wait. It might be the one where the nice boys in the neighborhood have inexplicably gone bad. Is it a Military orchid or a Miltonia orchid? In either case, there is a strong sense of its all having happened before because news values, like any other pseudo-environment taken piously, tend to dictate perception by anticipating it. As indicated above, this speeds processing and is therefore practiced and admired by those who have a stake in maintaining the appearance of high productivity. Idiosyncratic probing of an event by a reporter is often impatiently dismissed as naive, unprofessional, even though it almost always leads to a fresh angle on the story. While seeming more "professional," the quality of having happened before sharply reduces the deeper news value of the story. (The interchangeability of people and events has come to be a common theme of popular culture: "The Electric Horseman," Andy Warhol's pranks, and the like.)

By and large, it *has* all happened before. By crude technological measures (and measuring, itself, assumes that phenomena can be repeated, anticipated), general characteristics recur and are made to seem to recur while particularity is denied. But in anther sense of the world, more philosophically akin to a deeper sense of news, exceptions are cherished:[105]

> Science has little time for minor exceptions. But all nature, like all humanity, is made of minor exceptions, of entities that in some way, however scientifically disregardable, do not conform to the general rule. A belief in this kind of exception is as central to art as a belief in the utility of generalization is to science.

So defined, art is a novelty-centered or news-oriented pseudo-environment. The catch is that exceptions are not discernible, not even extant, without generalizations. In news and probably in art, the rule exists to prove the exceptions. There would seem to be little point in proving the rule; that comes too close to the business of education which, in this framework, is to provide a cultural backdrop, or ground, against which eventfulness (novelty) can be perceived.

As Gans said, "Whereas sociologists summarize from recurring patterns or random samples, journalists gravitate toward what sociologists term deviant cases.[106] According to the old cliche, it's never news to report that 100 million homes did *not* burn down last night in America, and the same construct underlies the standard yes-but feature lead as well: "In the spirit of Lou Grant and Walter Burns, city editors are expected to be gruff and crafty. But Sidney Snit, city editor of . . ." The object is simply to give readers something for their money, a perception not had before among their mental possessions.

In science, the exception is prized because it augurs a new or revised set of rules to account for it; it is the seed of a conceptual coup, a new consensus among peers, perhaps a new pseudo-environmental regime whose authority will be more encompassing than the one currently in power. "After the initial period of skepticism and resistance," Ziman asserts, "a major new scientific principle carries all before it."[107] With the new social relationships it creates, the principle comes to "benevolently rule scientists' inimitable individual powers of perception and cognition."

In art, it is to be hoped, the exception is cherished for its capacity to liberate those "inimitable individual powers of perception and cognition" from the captivity of ruling pseudo-environments. By their nature, scientific and public knowledge tend to paint over reality, which gives the paint a variety of interesting shapes and, at the same time, obscures but seems to substantiate the realities painted. Art ought to be a forceful reminder that there is always something important beyond the accountable and the surfaces of the paint, whether that reality lies in the deepest recesses of privacy or the deepest reaches of space. This is the source of individual freedom and human dignity. It precedes freedom as freedom precedes responsibility.

"All novels . . . are exercises in attaining freedom," Fowles has written.[108] They involve a retreat from the "normal world" and "a part of that retreat must always be into a 'wild' or ordinarily repressed and socially hidden self."[109] The wildness beyond can validate the wildness within; in some worldviews it may *be* the wildness within. It gets a bad name in authority-centered pseudo-environments because, by definition, they can never account for it — and accountability is the heart of such systems.

But "wildness" is the heart of publishing because the wild is anything outside the existing, familiar cityscape of the public domain. If there is

nothing to bring from outside into the public domain, then there is nothing to publish, to say. (There is much, however, to repeat.) Traditionally, journalism transmits from pseudo-environments or sub-publics, often formalized as beats, to a broader public, crossing the border to gather the story and returning from the enclave to encode or publish it for the broader public.

The tension inherent in the process raises two fatal temptations. One is to "go native" or be captured by the sources and repeat esoteric knowledge or values without translating or mediating them, without returning across the border to the broader domain. The other is to avoid crossing the border in the first place, to assume that whatever meets the eye from the reporter's vantage point within the already-known broad public domain is what it seems to be — that is, already known. The proliferation of specialized magazines and even the increasing departmentalization of newspapers are examples of yielding to the first temptation, with resulting cultural fragmentation. The characteristic impatience of television news coverage manifests the second tendency, to dip so quickly and lightly into an alien enclave that the television-reality expectations and meanings cannot be contradicted by the peculiarities of an event in its particular context.[110] It is much like experiencing the Wild West by shooting buffalo from the comfort of a railroad train.[111] Both of these avoidances of journalism's actual mission have been highly efficient and profitable in recent years.

They are efficient because they are predictable; that is, they carry little news. Not much room is left for good, unpredictable publishing of the sort provided by Harold Ross' guidance of *The New Yorker*, as described by Malcolm Muggeridge:[112]

> (Ross) never quite knew what he wanted — another great advantage in an editor. It prevented the magazine from having too defined a shape. Journalism always has to be experimental. A good editor goes tapping his way along, like a blind man.

Thurber's attempt to capture Ross in words[113] succeeds because it fails to capture him, leaving him elusive, at large, tantalizingly enigmatic, a delicious reminder that, while death may be a foregone conclusion, life isn't. We see that life lies along the edges of any pseudo-environment or book, never bound within one. The job of journalists is to patrol that border, as Thurber did.

The border cannot be patrolled if its existence is denied, as it customarily is in what appears to be the increasingly routinized, novelty-reducing, authority-enhancing, so-called "objective" practice of journalism. Many journalists still seem to believe that one either reports Lippmann's "world outside" or, as amateurs tend to, the "pictures in our heads" rather than the interaction between them, at the border. Even worse, the terms of academic and professional discourse provide little

grounding against which the shifting, newsworthy borders of coherence may be discerned. As a result, the central issues of the craft are not addressed.

But recent efforts to correct a similar neglect in environmental fields do provide a symbolic grounding which transfers, largely intact, to the field of journalism, where it may allow both scholars and professionals to attend the central, craft-defining issues.

Preparation and Practice

The environmental framework, then, has implications for the practice of journalism, the resulting definition of journalism as a profession and the appropriate preparation for that profession, all of which are so intertwined that it is difficult at this exploratory stage to treat them discretely.

The news is not so much what's "out there" as what people *think* is out there. As Lippmann wrote, it is the pseudo-environment that determines political (and probably other) action. So an important new direction in reporting would be to make subjectivity explicit. A modification of the familiar projective techniques in psychology is perhaps the most promising strategy with which journalists should begin to experiment.

Instead of an ink blot or some other low-definition configuration, an image of public interest should be used to elicit descriptions from a range of sources whose perceptions may have a bearing on decisions that will affect the image. A photograph of a city street, for example, would be presented to politicians, planners, police, store-owners, artists, residents, and so forth. Their published descriptions would then more accurately express the context (or pseudo-environment) of their "policy" on the street, making it possible to join the issues on grounds where they actually exist instead of perpetrating the usual ships-passing-in-the-night quality of nearly all public deliberation.

The photograph would be published with the story so that readers would become full participants in the pseudo-environmental dialogue and so that the referent is held more or less constant, for sources and audiences, thus shifting the focus of the story to the perception and encoding of the referent, getting away from "reality" as an isolated given ("the world outside") as well as from the unchecked subjectivity of sources ("the pictures in our heads"). It is this kind of negotiating and matching of perceptions — explicit reality-testing — that matters and that should produce ever-new, fresh pseudo-environments.

Once started, the process is likely to perpetuate itself, bringing the emphasis and framing of the photograph into the discussion, generating allusions to images outside the immediate frame, requiring that those images be similarly examined, all of which would generate such wide engagement in bargaining over symbols that the long-neglected human ac-

commodation to twentieth century conditions could be undertaken, possibly before the excluded experiential realities overtake us.

Journalism appears to be the only profession in a position to carry out this necessary cultural task and, as indicated above, the hints are that people sense this, with their high expectations for "Communication" and "The Mass Media" but also with their increasingly bitter frustration. Other professions are bowing out, "professionalizing," preferring the high-refuge comfort and generally better income of their esoteric authority-centered pseudo-environments. Despite powerful, seductive efforts to make it a similar technical field, journalism is still in a high-prospect, exposed public position. Reporters still can have the private, cold comfort of knowing they play the alien's role, essential to a pluralistic society, much like the role played by poets and vagrant knights "who opened up new perspectives with the feudal hierarchy" because they were "not secure enough to be immune to new experience."[114] Their drift from fief to fief was how Mannheim says they became "spokesmen for a reflective and multidimensional view of life," a prototype of the intellectual.[115] This is not a bad image on which to build a sense of professional identity that could make good journalism more common and a little less lonely.

Alienation is the defining characteristic. It must be admitted as a given, at least a professional given. "We shall not cease to be alienated . . . from nature," Fowles says,[116] "until we grant (nature) its unconscious alienation from us." As noted earlier, alienation is a condition of consciousness, making it possible to see the discrepancies between shared symbols and the novel particulars alien to the pseudo-environment — between knowledge, in other words, and news.[117] In a fascinating paradox, then, a paradox familiar in psychotherapy and other efforts to heighten consciousness, the admission of alienation diminishes it, creates a sense of experiencing a particular time and place, precedes rapport.

If the aesthetic experience is "a heightened rapport between the mind and external reality,"[118] then it follows that a very large component of journalism is aesthetic, strengthening Keats' outrageous claim that truth is beauty. Reality may not be synonymous with beauty, but clarity in the perception and expression of reality is; it is what can be the everyday journalistic joy of dissolving fogbanks, cutting through the smokescreens of self-interest symbolism, finding the exhilarating clarity of Chicago as the plane comes down through the clouds to O'Hare. It is the successful assault on what Dr. Johnson called "such a cloud of words that the sense can hardly peep through."[119] Journalists and human beings probably can't do without the fog. It precedes clarity.

The fog of pseudo-environments can be trusted to gather in the mind almost every morning.[120] It most likely appeals to the perception because it simplifies the view (Lippmann's definition), emphasizing a few figures

by subordinating the rest as indistinct "ground." Perhaps real fog appeals because is creates a rapport with the mind, which imitates it by simplifying the perceptual field, by forming pseudo-environments with similar characteristics, and by formulating messages in an attempt to replicate through once-removed symbols the impact of the original private perception so that the experience of consciousness might be shared — with the contradictory result that, as Dylan Thomas said, "Your bliss and suffering (are) forever shared and forever all your own."[121]

Journalism and other aesthetic enterprises frame (include and exclude) and they distribute emphasis within the frame in an effort to make a connection between inner and outer; they are novelty-centered pseudo-environments. An authority-centered pseudo-environment, on the other hand, avoids irony, humor, paradox, experience through a more imaginary, careless and ultimately "romantic" assertion of inattentive will over the environment, obliterating novelty as best it can by engaging in the high-consensus, relatively militant fantasy that, for all practical purposes, the pseudo-environment is *the* environment. It "solves" the relationship between inner and outer by declaring that inner *is* outer.

Technical training and technical work are just such authority-centered pseudo-environments, and it is symptomatic of the imbalance of our time that they are perceived to be more rigorous, finely tuned and even down-to-earth than novelty-centered pseudo-environments, although this is consistent with Ellul's assessment of our technological society.[122]

The danger is that journalism will become an authority-centered pseudo-environment, giving up its mission for the large bribes available in the prevailing social context. Viewing journalism from a somewhat different conceptual perspective, James Carey nevertheless observes the same danger. He writes that, at least in one sense:[123]

> . . . the techniques of journalism define what is considered to be real: what can be written about and how it can be understood. From the standpoint of the audience the techniques of journalism determine what the audience can think — the range of what is taken to be real on a given day. If something happens that cannot be packaged by the industrial formula, then, in a fundamental sense, it has not happened, it cannot be brought to the attention of the audience.

This characterizes an authority-centered pseudo-environment, as an emphasis on technique usually does. The penalty for holding so piously to conventional technique is also described by Carey in terms consistent with the pseudo-environmental framework:[124]

> The ordinary events of everyday lives — things which in their meaning and consequence are far from ordinary and insignificant for the audience — have no place in daily journalism . . . This mainstream of overwhelming significant ordinary life — what a literary critic would call the "felt quality" of life — is a main connection between the newspaper and its audience, yet we do not know how to report it well. As a result the newspaper reports a

world which increasingly does not connect with the life of its audience in the most fundamental sense the audience experiences life.

Carey calls for the creation of a critical community to provide the public scrutiny of journalistic methods in the interests of giving them the cultural attention they require and of making them as relevant to the 20th century as they were to the 19th. The projective technique recommended in this paper would bring such scrutiny into existence and give a start for the more modern methods that must develop in journalism.

But technique is an adversary of experience, of the "felt quality" of life, as herein argued; technique is easily trivialized into a novelty-excluding pseudo-environment. This raises the final questions of what pseudo-environment journalists do (and should) share and what kind of education most appropriately acculturates them into that professional pseudo-environment.

"All major advances in technique" in the arts have come about to better express the "individual feeling" of the particular artists, Fowles writes, and any subsequent use of them has produced "no more than imitations or replicas of previous art . . . Techniques in themselves are always reducible to sciences — that is, to learnability."[125] He implies that art is not learnable. Yet learnability, or shareability, is a defining characteristic of a pseudo-environment. So, if journalism is taken to be an aesthetic endeavor and if Fowles is taken too literally, then journalism education of any kind is not only useless but harmful.

An understanding of pseudo-environments should relieve the apparent dilemma. The ultimate misunderstanding of pseudo-environments is to think they can and should be done away with because they are, after all, "pseudo," fake. But because pseudo-environments are an inevitable and commanding feature of human perception and communication, their denial is actually proof that the person denying them inhabits an authoritarian pseudo-environment.

In brief, the inside-outside dynamic so central to an understanding of cityscape, landscape and other environments must also be recognized as central to the symbolic environments of news communication. It follows that the profession must avoid the central fallacy of operating as if its pseudo-environment is all-encompassing and its methods must therefore make the borders of its compass as vivid for audiences as walls do in architecture.

This would seem to be the only way to restore (or perhaps create) the experiential connection between audiences and public affairs — through environmental strategies described throughout this paper. These are strategies which heighten consciousness by acknowledging, making explicit, the unavoidable facts of symbol use: that symbols only *stand for* something beyond and that symbol users are similarly removed from "the" environment, alienated, outside, in a position to perceive it.[126]

In journalistic practice, to summarize, attention should be drawn to the fact of the framing itself (because this is often the variable more newsworthy than the message within a given frame). "Thereness" should be emphasized in order to give force to "hereness" and thus reinforce the familiar news value of proximity. Textural range should be extended. Conventional "good taste" should be recognized for the authoritarian trait that it usually is and should therefore be devalued. Privacy should be understood and treated in a refuge-prospect framework. Narrow "objectivity" should be recognized as a function of authority-centered pseudo-environments including a dogmatic interpretation of news values. An "environmental" objectivity should be sought by eliciting and examining sources from wide variety of pseudo-environments. Environment should become an important *subject* of news because it is a powerful metaphor for perception and experience. A form of projective technique should be introduced as a regular news practice. Television especially (because its symbols look so much like the reality they represent) should undermine its own short-term authority by making its intervention conspicuous and "unslick." Elements regarded as alien to the traditional coherence of a story should be included. Most stories should incorporate historical background so that their timeliness can be enhanced. Exceptional and supposedly small events should be more lavishly reported because they are more timely and novel than "large" events and they are more humanly manageable.

The very form of a news story should be reexamined, possibly leading to a form that more fully takes advantage of strategies used to invite entry into the "more physical" pseudo-environments of landscape and cityscape: limited task disclosure, serial revelation of assets, penetrability of margins, promise of reward and at least vicarious participation, alien features to symbolize internal openness and "fissures" to symbolize openness toward external possibilities. All these would improve the reader's sense of orientation, experience and hope. The information-processing bias of a rote inverted pyramid (though it would not have to be rote) is anti-experiential if these environmental strategies are neglected in it. And, paradoxically, the immediate-reward traditional feature is built on a serially delayed reward tactic in these terms.

Education for these kinds of functions would be the antithesis of technical training, which inducts a student into an authority-centered pseudo-environment and thereby suspends disbelief. The match between symbol and "felt quality" cannot be considered in this style of vocational preparation. So-called productivity (high-speed information-processing) is emphasized. As Auxter has noted,[127] "An educational system geared toward maximum productivity virtually guarantees that the product is understood as a measurable set of intellectual reflexes rather than as a full intellectual and moral development."[128]

Journalism education has far more in common with the arts and humanities, as this pseudo-environmental framework suggests, because the central concerns of its craftsmen and their audiences are aesthetic, not directly pragmatic: symbols, not tools. The aesthetic approach, as defined, provides the most appropriate justification for the fabrication of truth, a delicate interaction between novelty and authority,[129] whatever its measureable effects may be. It appears to be the fascination with this interaction that enlists people into the business and continues to motivate them,[130] even as it continues to be largely ignored in professional codes, claims for professional autonomy, education and research trying to be intelligible to prevailing "pragmatic" pseudo-environments.

This essay has been an attempt to draw attention to the center of journalism, a fascination not with wielding power [131] or asserting righteousness but with constantly searching for and communicating, even celebrating, an idea of what is. Anything less, such as information-processing, reduces job satisfaction for good journalists, deprives audiences of an experiential stake in public affairs and distracts both journalists and their audiences from a sense of human limitation and thereby location, from the sense of being, being "here rather than there," as Pascal put it.[132]

Good journalists will recognize White's description of "a grand time to be alive and vastly conscious."[133] White catches the essence of it when he has Arthur struggle away from the insistent, seemingly important difficulties of life at close range to a hilltop in England where "he suddenly felt the intense, sad loveliness of being as being . . . . He began to love the land under him with a fierce longing, not because it was good or bad, but because it was."[134]

NOTES

1. Robert L. Stevenson and Mark T. Greene, "A Reconsideration of Bias in the News," *Journalism Quarterly*, 57:115-21 (Spring 1980).

2. Rudolf Heberle, *Social Movements* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), p. 287.

3. Dean W. O'Brien, "Toward a Context Theory of Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly*, 44:491-6 (Autumn 1967).

4. Hunter Davies, *The Beatles* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), p. 170; Herbert Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), p. 170; Max Ways, "What's Wrong with News? It Isn't New Enough," *Fortune*, October, 1969, pp. 110-113, 155-161.

5. Dwight MacDonald's distinction between academicism and avantgardism assumes a similar conflict between competitive authority and novelty. See his "A Theory of Mass Culture," *Diogenes*, Summer 1953 (No. 3), pp. 1-17.

6. Jerry Mander, *Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1978), pp. 129-33; Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), p. 23.

7. Ruth Clark, *Changing Needs of Readers* (Reston, Virginia: American Newspaper Publishers Association, 1979), pp. 3-5, 40.

8. Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1921, 1961), p. 16.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
13. Gaye Tuchman, "Telling Stories," *Journal of Communication*, 26:93-97 (Autumn 1976).
14. George Talbot, Iconographer, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, quoted by Dennis McCann in "The Keeper of Fleeting Images," *Wisconsin Photographer*, July 1979, p. 12.
15. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 203.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
18. John Fowles, "Seeing Nature Whole," *Harper's*, November 1979, p. 60ff.
19. Tuan, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-12. Similarly, Hildegard Binder Johnson writes, "Landscape *per se* does not exist; it is amorphous — an indeterminate area of the earth's surface and a chaos of details incomprehensible to the perceptual system. A landscape requires selective viewing and a frame." See "The Framed Landscape," *Landscape*, 23:27 (1979).
20. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
21. *Loc. cit.*
22. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
23. David L. Lange, Robert K. Baker and Sandra J. Ball, *Mass Media and Violence: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 43-54.
24. Tuan, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
30. See, for example, John M. Smith and Maxwell E. McCombs, "The Graphics of Prose," *Journalism Quarterly*, 48:134-6 (Spring 1971).
31. Tuan, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
32. Mark R. Levy, "The Audience Experience with Television News," *Journalism Monographs* No. 55 (April 1978), pp. 13, 19, 20, 22, 25. "Without pushing this point too far, one could argue that for some viewers television news watching is one of many 'rituals' which give them a sense of 'place' " (p. 20).
33. Tuan, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
34. My argument flows from the assumption that symbolic, encoded or mediated communication is necessarily a form of displaced behavior and that placement, or "sense of place," therefore precedes authentic encoding as well as decoding. Failure to acknowledge displacement produces an authoritarian pseudo-environment and its attendant false objectivity; it exists in a realm of manifest dream content, ignoring latent dream content — the familiar realm of "pure entertainment" or "suspension of disbelief." By way of contrast, experience is here seen as the commerce between symbols and direct sensual encounter, between expectations and the unexpected.
35. Tuan, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
38. Quoted by H. J. Blackham in *Six Existentialist Thinkers* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1959), p. 47. Jaspers' thinking is closely akin to the thesis of this monograph. He remarks, for example (p. 60), "The world is, so to speak, a secret text which can never be translated into public language."
39. Tuan, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
41. Peter F. Smith, *The Syntax of Cities* (London: Hutchinson & Company, 1977), p. 25.
42. Tuan, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

43. Dean MacCannell, *loc. cit.*
44. *Ibid* , p. 23.
45. Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), pp. 77-117.
46. "The Whole World Is Watching," film produced and released by the National Educational Television and Radio Center, Bloomington, Ind., 1969.
47. MacCannell, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
48. Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959), pp. 144-145.
49. George Gerbner and Kathleen Connolly, "Television As New Religion," *New Catholic World*, March/April 1978, pp. 52-56.
50. Gans, *op. cit.*, p. 139
51. MacCannell, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
52. Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1969), pp. 205-38.
53. Quoted by W. Jackson Bate in his *Samuel Johnson* (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), p. 574.
54. MacCannell, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
55. George B. Schaller, *The Year of the Gorilla* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).
56. Richard Hall, *Stanley: An Adventurer Explored* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975).
57. MacCannell, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
58. O'Brien, *loc. cit.*
59. Blackham, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-48.
61. MacCannell, *op. cit.*, p. 155
62. *Loc. cit.*
63. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 112
64. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
70. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 17; Levy, *loc. cit.*
71. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 233.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
74. Gans, *op. cit.*, p. 309; Grace Ferrari Levine, " 'Learned Helplessness' and the Evening News," *Journal of Communication*, 27:100-05 (Autumn 1977).
75. G.D. Wiebe, "Mass Media and Man's Relationship to His Environment," *Journalism Quarterly*, 50:426-32, 446 (Autumn 1973).
76. Lippmann, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
77. Joan Didion, *The White Album* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), pp. 206-7.
78. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
80. Gans, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-8.
81. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44.
82. *The Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970).
83. Quoted by Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
84. Wilbur Schramm, "The Nature of News," *Journalism Quarterly*, 26: 259-69 (September 1949).
85. Smith and McCombs, *loc. cit.*
86. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-3.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
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100. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
101. Jay Appleton, *The Experience of Landscape* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1975).
102. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
103. Fowles, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
104. *Loc. cit.*
105. Fowles, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
106. Gans, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
107. John Ziman, *Reliable Knowledge: An Exploration of the Grounds for Belief in Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 88
108. Fowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-68.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
110. Mander, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-343.
111. Or visiting Disneyland. See Michael R. Real, "The Disney Universe: A Morality Play," in his *Mass-Mediated Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979, pp. 45-89).
112. Malcolm Muggeridge, *Things Past*, Ian Hunter, editor (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1979), p. 129.
113. James Thurber, *The Years With Ross* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1959).
114. Karl Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956), p. 126.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
116. Fowles, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
117. Alienation seems to be an important condition for other kinds of writing, too, as noted by Malcolm Cowley in *The Literary Situation* (New York: The Viking Press, 1958), pp. 144-8.
118. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
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125. Fowles, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
126. Daniel Schorr, *Clearing the Air* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), p. viii.
127. Thomas Auxter, *The Meaning of Cost-Effective Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers Advisory Comission on Higher Education, 1980), p. 11.
128. See also Merle L. Borrowman, *The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956.
129. Magazine designer Milton Glazer in "The Importance of Being Rockwell," *Columbia Journalism Review*, December 1979: "(A magazine cover) has to capture the attention of the

passing reader by creating a tension between clarity and novelty. The image must be familiar enough to be understandable and unusual enough to provoke interest" (p. 40).

130. Gans, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

131. "For the most part, journalists are men and women who derive more satisfaction from exploring and explaining the world than wresting power and profit from it." Robert Stein, *Media Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972), p. 240.

132. *Pensees of Pascal (New York: Peter Pauper Press, 1946), p. 36.*

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134. Ibid., p. 109.

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